

SOCIETY  
OF  
*California Pioneers.*

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INAUGURAL CEREMONIES  
AT THE OPENING OF THE  
NEW "PIONEER HALL,"  
EIGHTH OF JANUARY, 1863.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS,  
BY PRESIDENT O. P. SUTTON.

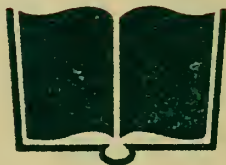
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ORATION  
BY EUGENE LIÉS, Esq.

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[From the *Alta California* of January 9th, 1863 ]

# CELEBRATION OF THE PIONEERS.

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## INAUGURATION OF A NEW HALL.

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The Pioneers were favored with a delightful day for their festivities, the rains of the previous night having entirely ceased before dawn. At 11 o'clock, the members of the Association and invited guests assembled at the old rooms on Washington street. The Montgomery Guards, the military escort, together with Kidd's superb brass band, were promptly on the spot, and at the appointed hour the procession moved from the hall, under the Marshalship of WM. L. DUNCAN, Esq., in the following order:

Band.  
Military Escort: Montgomery Guard.  
Society's American Flag.  
President Sutton.  
Ex-Presidents, two and two.  
The Building Committee.  
Architects.  
Orator and Chaplain.  
Invited Guests.  
Sacramento Pioneers.  
Red Rosette Members.  
Society's Standard.  
Vice-Presidents.  
Board of Directors.  
Sonoma Bear Flag.  
White Rosette Members—1st Section.  
Fremont Battalion Flag.  
White Rosette Members—2d Section.  
Los Angeles Bear Flag.  
White Rosette Members—3d Section.  
Sonoma Bear Flag.  
White Rosette Members—4th Section.

The American Flag was carried by HAZAN KIMBALL, Esq.; the Society's Standard, by A. D. PIPER, Esq.; the Flag of the Fremont Battalion, by I. BLUM, and the Sonoma and Los An-



geles Bear Flags, by Captain HARRISON and O. LIVERMORE, Esq. The number of members in the procession, of both 1848 and 1849, amounted to 273. Invited guests, 34. Total, 307.

The procession passed down Washington to Montgomery, along Montgomery to Market, where it crossed to the east side of Montgomery street, and thence up that thoroughfare to the new Hall above Washington street. Throughout the line of route the streets were crowded with spectators, as also the windows and stores on either side of the street. A finer looking body of men, comprising as they did, many of our most influential citizens and prominent business men, were never seen congregated together, in this or any other city, and their splendid appearance elicited flattering eulogiums from both ladies and gentlemen who witnessed the procession.

At the Hall the exercises commenced by a fervent prayer from the Chaplain, Rev. A. WILLIAMS, followed by an instructive and scholarly Inaugural Address, from President O. P. SUTTON, reviewing the past and present condition of the Society, and giving an able exhibit of its finances and present condition.

W. B. FARWELL, Esq., then made a verbal report from the Building Committee, giving a brief history of their proceedings, and showing in glowing colors, the improved and prosperous state of the Society since the erection of the Hall had been determined on.

The President, then introduced to the Assembly, the Orator of the day, EUGENE LIES, Esq., who proceeded to deliver an exceeding able and elaborately prepared essay on landed estates generally, and in detail, those in which the earlier Pioneers and natives of California had been interested. The remarks of Mr. LIES, which displayed rare erudition and scholarly attainment, were listened to with marked attention, interrupted only by frequent bursts of applause.

The band, at intervals, played choice selections, and at the conclusion the Chaplain pronounced the benediction. The whole house was thrown open, the inaugural ceremonies being held in the spacious front room on the second floor, which is to be the regular meeting apartment of the Society. The Society and invited guests, together with the military, adjourned from this room to the basement, where were spread two large tables, covered with the choicest viands and liquids. After the inner man had been satisfied, regular toasts were read and duly responded to, and subsequently volunteer sentiments were offered. The reunion was a most happy one, and will be long cherished by all Pioneers present.

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF PRESIDENT O. P. SUTTON.

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FELLOW PIONEERS :

I extend to you a cordial welcome to your future home—the guerdon of patient endurance and of fraternal action. Under your own roof-tree, and by your own hearth-stone, the family to day assemble to exchange mutual congratulations.

We have labored long and earnestly to attain this consummation. We have struggled through difficulties which might have deterred; we have encountered disasters which might have overwhelmed, and we have sustained conflicts which might, and reasonably, too, have impaired the enthusiasm of others, but, buoyed and sustained by the reflection, that the Society of which we are members, has for its object “the greatest good of the greatest number,” we have turned neither to the right hand nor to the left, but have kept directly on, and pursued our purposes with undaunted determination and undiminished ardor, until at length, in spite of all these difficulties, disasters and conflicts, we have attained—(not the goal of our ambition and aspirations, for we “purpose in our hearts to take a nobler flight.”) but one station and a proud one, too, on the great highway of social, moral and intellectual excellence. And now, you have come up here, to-day, with glad hearts and thrilling pulses, to rejoice in our common success. You stand beneath the roof which your own hands have builded, and are now about to dedicate for all time, as the abiding shelter of all your glorious memories, and the receptacle of all that is noble; all that is valuable: all that is illustrative of your “strange, eventful history.”

Where, a decade since, primitive simplicity and unbroken quiet slumbered in dull repose, responsive only to the drowsy monotone of our western ocean, you, to-day, stand amid the surroundings of graceful art—in the midst of prosperous plenty, and amid the never-dying hum of your occidental civilization.

Proud day for all of us! And with a full heart, sharing in the emotions of the hour, I say again to you, one and all, a joyous welcome, and God speed!

Brother Pioneers: how others may be affected upon this occasion, I can scarcely venture an exposition, but, for myself, this is the inauguration of a glorious epoch—this imposing dedication of this imposing edifice to the Pioneers of California.

The small seed sown years ago has germinated; the stem has broken its earthen prison and struggled up into the sun-light;



the bud is bursting into the full blown flower, and the Pioneer Association has already become an "Institution" amongst us.

Surrounded as we are, and standing where we do to-day, what Pioneer does not feel a thrill of genuine pride—but not more genuine than pardonable—that he can lay claim to the distinction of being a California Pioneer? Is it nothing to contemplate that this wealthy and populous city,—humble still as a centre of refinement and learning, though hastening with rapid stride to rival far older capitals in their grandeur and their science—owes, in a great degree, its existence to us? Is it nothing to know that we are the absolute owners of this magnificent structure, that this stately edifice—a hall of science and a home of pleasure—is ours? Is it nothing to realize that our infancy was nursed in the lap of poverty and privation, and that with heroic energy we have toiled up to a youth-hood—manhood, we have not yet attained—of ease and comfort and competency? Is it nothing, in short, to feel that we have thus early placed ourselves in a position enabling us to perform partially, what the Pioneer Association hope, some day, more thoroughly to accomplish—the moral, social and intellectual elevation of its members and thus relatively act upon and beneficially influence the whole body of society?

Brothers, permit me to remark that, we may very justly feel proud, not only of the position we occupy to-day, but of the place that may be assigned us in history, as the pioneers of what is to be, perhaps, (if the theories of a distinguished but unknown writer, in that remarkable work—the "Vestiges of Creation"—shall be verified) a higher and purer civilization than has ever existed on the American Continent. That writer says, "The United States might be expected to make no great way in civilization till they be fully peopled to the Pacific: and it might not be unreasonable to expect that, when that event has occurred, the greatest civilizations of that vast territory will be found in the peninsula of California and the narrow strip of land beyond the Rocky Mountains."

Are these ideas mere vagaries? or, are we indeed, now laying the foundations of a great and powerful empire which in the dim and distant future, shall excel in intelligence, refinement, arts, science and, in short, all that has been and may be of a superior civilization on the continent of America! I dare not, Brother Pioneers, venture the prediction, but I may, at least, suggest, in view of such a possible contingency, that we should so conduct ourselves that our names and memories will be revered in all future generations.

You, earliest pilgrims to this golden West, are living types of our State. Heterogeneous, and yet assimilated, of every nation and clime; of every creed and form of belief; of opposing political opinions, and multifarious pursuits, yet united by one common bond of union.



The representatives of the most conflicting interests, you are nevertheless a unit, in your relations to the State as Pioneers.

The spirit of your Constitution, while it isolates you from all that might provoke dissension, or engender bitterness, only asks you to keep alive the associations which bind you to the past and to each other. It asks you to cherish with a tender remembrance the services and characters of your co-laborers; it urges you to collect and preserve all the mementoes by which our history has been illustrated, and, finally, to embalm in the shrine of your memories, and to imitate in the conduct of your lives, the examples of those of your brethren, who, having fought the fight of life with manful courage, have gone to their reward.

With all the gay and festive surroundings of this day, companions, there also mingle some funereal shadows. As the swift years have swept by us, they have gathered into the country of eternal silence, many of our noblest and best. They toiled with us awhile—they bore the burden “and heat of the day”—and then fell wearied by the wayside. It is fitting that we shall add a wreath to their voiceless tombs, and give a sorrowing tear to their memories. “God’s peace be with them.”

But from these chastening recollections let us turn to a brighter picture.

Proud we should be,—proud we are, when we look at the noble record of *our* brethren, who, on the bloody fields of carnage, in the defence of our common country, are, even now, holding aloft the standard of our nationality, or *have* in the “joyous rush of death gone down.”

Fellow-Pioneers: A little more than twelve years ago, in the month of August, 1850, a few gentlemen met together, in this city, for the purpose of organizing a Pioneer Society, the objects of which should be “to cultivate social intercourse among its members; collect and preserve information connected with the early settlement and subsequent conquest of the country, and to perpetuate the memory of those whose sagacity, energy and enterprise, induced them to settle in the wilderness and become the founders of a new State.”

This, gentlemen, was a very laudable undertaking, and most nobly did they perform their work. At this distant day, it is scarcely possible, even for us Pioneers, who were not then members of the Association, to properly appreciate the labors of those few men who originated our Society and brought it into successful existence. All of you, however, well remember the period of which I speak, and a retrospective glance at the times will enable you to form, at least, some idea of the difficulties which they had to encounter in the accomplishment of their object.

It would afford me much pleasure, and I doubt not be gratifying to you, could I at this time place before you a detailed

statement of the struggles, services and sacrifices of those men to whom we are so largely indebted for their efforts to found and perpetuate our organization, but unfortunately, it is not in my power to do so, all the early records of the Society having been destroyed by the fire of May 3d, 1851, except one book, in which were recorded the Constitution and the signatures of the members who had attached their names thereto. And from this time to the period of its reorganization, July 6th, 1853, it would seem that no minutes whatever were kept of its proceedings. At least, none have been found. I have therefore, thought it not inappropriate on this occasion, when we are just entering upon a new era of our existence, to give a brief outline of so much of the early history of the Association, as I have been able to gather from the few persons still living in our midst who assisted at its formation.

On the 23d of August, 1850, the steamship "California" arrived in our harbor from Panama, bringing intelligence of the death of President Taylor. Measures were immediately taken by our citizens for the celebration of the obsequies of that distinguished man; and among other assemblages, was an incidental meeting of a few of the oldest residents who met at Delmonico's Saloon on Montgomery Street. There were only five persons present, namely, W. D. M. Howard, Samuel Brannan, J. C. L. Wadsworth, Talbot H. Green and Benjamin S. Lippencott. Mr. Wadsworth suggested that all the early resident pioneers be invited to unite in a body and take part in the approaching observances. This proposition being cordially seconded, it was agreed that the parties present should notify their friends and acquaintances among the early settlers, and that the proceedings of the meeting be published.

The result was that, on the morning of the celebration—the 29th of August, about forty or fifty of the early pioneers assembled and formed a prominent feature in the large and imposing procession which then marched with mournful tread and muffled drum through the sombre streets of San Francisco.

It was this event which seems to have first suggested the idea of a pioneer association, for very soon after, a meeting was held at the office of W. D. M. Howard and the "*Society of California Pioneers*" organized by the adoption of a Constitution and the election of its first officers.

These were elected for one year only, but owing to the extraordinary events of 1851–2, events which kept our citizens in a constant state of alarm and excitement, together with the additional circumstance, perhaps, that there was no suitable place where meetings could be held, no other election for officers took place until July 7th, 1853.

As confirmatory of this fact, I quote the first paragraph of the written records of the Association.



“An informal meeting of this Society was held at the Oriental Hotel in the City of San Francisco on the evening of July 6, 1853, for the purpose of reorganization: the Society, from unavoidable circumstances, having for the past two years been unable to meet.”

Nevertheless, its existence was always recognised during that period, and its officers, by the unanimous consent of the members, continued to exercise all the powers belonging to their respective positions. No thought ever seems to have existed of an abandonment of the organization, even during that most gloomy period of our City's history, when, scarcely did she arise from the ashes of one desolating fire, ere another still more destructive, swept over her with appalling fierceness, devouring in its flaming folds all within its reach, and leaving nought but blackened walls and smoking ruins as the only evidence that *here* was once a prosperous city. But, from out the smoke and flame of each successive fire, arose the indomitable spirit of the Pioneer, undaunted, unsubdued, unbroken, and in ringing tones proclaimed that, not only should the city be again rebuilt, but that our cherished society should have a permanent existence—should live, an enduring monument to the “sagacity, energy and enterprize” of the intrepid Pioneers!

Gentlemen: Unfortunately very little else in addition to what has been already stated, can now be learned of the early history of our Association. We know, however, that after the funeral of General Taylor, the Society took a prominent part in the celebration of the admission of California into the Union, on the 29th of October, 1850, and that it was upon this occasion, at the grand ball which took place the same evening at the “California Exchange,” on the Plaza, that our beautiful banner, designed by Lieut. Derby, was first displayed.

From this time, until August, 1852, nothing whatever is known of the proceedings of the Society, and, indeed, it is highly probable that during that period of twenty-one months, it was never convened. But, upon the death of the lamented Gilbert,—a cherished member of the Association, a worthy and honored citizen, whose life was without blemish and whose death was a public calamity, it again came forth to pay the last tribute of respect to his memory, and convey his earthly remains to their final resting-place.

Following this event, and only a few days later, came intelligence of the decease of that distinguished patriot and statesman—Henry Clay. The funeral obsequies of this great American commoner, were, as you all remember, of the most imposing character. All classes of citizens united in paying homage and respect to the distinguished dead, and among others, the “California Pioneers” appeared in large numbers and took an active and prominent part in the ceremonies of the day.

This was the last public appearance of the association during the period of which I speak.



Having now given the origin of the Society and all the material circumstances connected with its early history, that is, prior to its reorganization, I deem it proper to add a few statistics showing the present condition of our association.

The total number of names subscribed to the Constitution from the period of its adoption to the present time, is 1,124; present number of members paying monthly dues, 333; of which there are residing in this city 265; in the country 68; total number of "Life Members" 135; thus showing that we now have 468 active members belonging to the Society.

The average monthly receipts during the last quarter, exclusive of moneys received for Life Memberships, have been \$479; the average monthly expenses during the same period, have been \$313; leaving a balance to the credit of the "general" and "building" funds, per month, of \$166.

It is estimated that the monthly receipts during the next six months will not be less than \$1,050; expenses per month for same period \$360; leaving a monthly surplus to be applied to the liquidation of our outstanding obligations of \$690.

The present indebtedness of the Society may be stated to be in round numbers, \$15,000, which sum, it is confidently expected, will be fully paid and the debt cancelled within the next two years. Allow me therefore, in conclusion, to congratulate you on the highly prosperous condition of the association, and on the brilliant future which awaits it, if it be properly conducted.

Pioneers: Justice, as well as gratitude, prompts me before I close, to say, that, for a great portion of the material prosperity we are now enjoying as a society, we are indebted to the munificent liberality of an old Pioneer—JAMES LICK, Esq.

He has given us, "without money and without price," the lot of land on which this building stands. We owe him therefore a debt of gratitude which can only be discharged from the *Treasury of the heart*. No other coin than that contained within its vaults, can or will be offered as a legal tender in liquidation of such obligations as those under which our patron and brother has placed us. It is an immense draft, we confess, but to the last drop—more precious than any glittering "mint drop"—*it shall be paid*.

So long as of this edifice one stone stands upon another, it shall be recognized as a monument to the unselfish liberality and uncalculating munificence of our friend and brother, and so long as the Pioneer Association of California shall be banded together in the bonds of fraternal affection and social accord, the name and memory of JAMES LICK *shall never die*.

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MUSIC—"Hail Columbia"—By the Band.

# ORATION

BY EUGENE LIÉS, Esq.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Society of Pioneers :*

Invited to address you upon the occasion of the dedication to your use of this goodly edifice, an occasion which will hold a conspicuous place in your annals, I feel that it requires some self-restraint to avoid indulging a recapitulation of the brief, but miraculous, history of the State we founded, a review of its present wonderful plenty and peace in the midst of civil strife, and a glance at the unparalleled prosperity which the future seems to promise.

The theme, however tempting, must be foregone. Not that the subject is exhausted, for it is inexhaustible ; but it has already inspired several eloquent addresses, and I shall be less fearful of seeming to challenge a comparison, or of wearying your attention, if, from the vast picture before my eyes, I single out, for treatment, some one prominent point with which I chance to be somewhat familiar.

To those of us who reached California before the discovery of gold, perhaps no feature of the country appeared more remarkable than the distribution of its territory into large tracts devoted to the pursuits of pastoral life. Not that we were altogether unacquainted with notable instances at home of landed estates of still greater magnitude ; but in such instances we had been accustomed to see land treated as merchandise, and purchased, in view of its rise, by individuals who foresaw, or determined to create, a demand ; while here, in every glazed-hatted ranchero we met we beheld, not the speculative monopolizer, or the mere lord paramount, but the actual possessor and occupier of a domain which elsewhere would have constituted a principality.

Unlike the Ishmaelite or Tartar stock-breeders, these did not hold their grazing grounds by tribes ; nor did their flocks range at will over the commons of the nation, as did those of Abraham and Lot until that memorable occasion when " a strife arising between their herdsmen," they agreed that one should go to the left and the other to the right ; but each ranchero was sole proprietor of his own particular tract, extending sometimes to forty leagues, with well defined and universally recognized boundaries, however indefinite these may appear to modern Courts and surveyors.



We hardly reflected that land in itself is nothing, and only acquires a value from the labor of man; that here, the limited industry applied to its improvement was of that character which supports the fewest human inhabitants to the square mile; that population governs the market price of real estate; and that there was a probability of these vast possessions becoming absolutely of no value whatever to their owners. The idea of extent alone impressed us. Here was no occasion for the rebuke which Socrates applied to his pupil, Alcibiades, by asking him to locate, upon the map, the territorial wealth of which he was so proud. There are several of these ranchos either of which, on a common sized chart of the Northern Continent, would hold a more conspicuous place than does on the map of Europe many a State which has gained a name in History and a voice in the Congress of Nations.

Since the time to which I now allude, fifteen years have rolled over. What has become of the rancheros whom we then unduly favored with our envy? What of the estates which excited that feeling?

The estates, at least in the northern part of California, have mostly met the fate which attends land in every thrifty community; by means fair or foul, they have become divided into parcels, growing smaller by further division every day—each parcel worth more money than the entire quantity in former times. Intelligent labor, concentrated within a practical scope, has awakened the dormant capacities of nature; and hills, once considered valueless, display the wealth of harvests, orchards and vineyards, where the hardy cattle of the original settler once scarcely ventured to tread.

Of the rancheros—we meet many of the survivors about our streets, dispirited and murmuring, accusing the squatters, the lawyers, the Courts—everything except their own want of foresight and the inexorable logic of events—invoking the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, just as if treaties meant anything in the face of necessity; just as if the Congress of Vienna had not decreed the independence of Cracow, the perpetual division of Italy, the autonomy and integrity of the three bleeding remnants of Poland, and placed those “established facts” under the joint guarantee of Europe.

They seem to upbraid us, as the Monster in “The Tempest”:

“This island ’s mine, by Sycorax my mother,  
Which thou tak’st from me; when thou camest first  
Thou strok’dst me and mad’st much of me, would’st give me  
Water with berries in’t?”

forgetting that whether the title vested in Caliban or Prospero, nothing could give interest, attraction or value to the Enchanted Isle until a shipwreck scattered numerous human beings upon its shores.

Whatever share of the guilt of dispossessing the ancient



owners of the soil of California may fairly be laid to judicial or executive shortcomings, a glance at the dealings of other nations, with the natives of conquered territory, would suggest a comparison not altogether unfavorable to our government.

In many a bitter speech and earnest page, the orators and public writers of Great Britain denounced, as the chief cause of the Indian mutiny, the course adopted in regard to land titles in that remote colony, and that "passion of resumption" which dictated oppressive rules of decision, suggested constant suspicions of fraud and led to the annulling of grants which had received the sanction of Warren Hastings, Lord Clive and Sir Hector Munro.

Change a few names and dates, add the darker feature of a tardy administration of the law, and those significant denunciations will stand as the expression of the complaints of the rancheros of California, except that many of those of the northern part of the State urge that the *possession* of their patrimonies has been withheld from them, pending the weary investigation. Indeed some extreme cases are pointed out where the original possessor, without having parted with the fee, cultivates some parcel of his own fields under a precarious lease from the invader.

But the rancheros of the southerly part of the State, although entitled to urge some of the same complaints, have enjoyed this invaluable advantage over their northern brethren that they have continued to possess their inheritance without let or hindrance to this very day. In their local governments they held, from the first, undisputed sway. Judges, of their own language and race were elected by them, representatives and Senators who could only address their respective Houses through interpreters; no supervisor, county clerk, sheriff or assessor was ever nominated without their assent; even in those counties where they could boast no positive majority, their united numbers constituted a balance of power, among the contending foreigners, amply sufficient to secure them fair play.

It chanced that the bulk of immigration did not settle that way, and this in the face of the fact that, for several years, their section was the highway of all the immigration; few unscrupulous settlers infringed their lands, their cattle ranged undisturbed within boundaries respected by all; their ancient customs were codified, at their instance, in our statute book. For years their herds supplied the northern stalls without competition. The cheap labor of Indians was theirs; the mines were open to their adventurous poor; and if their wants increased somewhat with the growing luxury of the times, they could now be supplied from a neighboring market at rates that would have astonished the cotemporaries of Figueroa.

With all these advantages how do they stand now?

Why, in their present condition, they might well envy their

despoiled countrymen of the more populous section. With undiminished herds, ranging over uncurtailed possessions, many are unable to procure the commonest comforts of civilized life. One sudden fluctuation in the price of their one staple, and the nothingness of their apparent wealth stands demonstrated. Their one market closed or over-supplied, the total value of their herds becomes equal to that of so many hides—less the labor of preparing them for shipping. What crops they may raise avail them nothing beyond the actual support of life; there is no population to consume them at home, or to keep the roads in repair, or create harbor facilities. The lord of many leagues in the midst of his vast possessions finds himself in a position the reverse of that of the ancient King whose touch was fabled to possess the power of alchemy. Midas turned into gold everything within his reach. On the contrary, the ranchero is unable to convert anything into coin. The fact of his proprietorship has stamped the character of a wilderness upon his domain, and that character strips it of its exchangeable value. His only gleam of hope lies in the occasional conversion of a neighboring neat cattle range into a sheep walk—a partial improvement, inasmuch as the latter business employs more human labor.

The reproach of improvidence and mismanagement is too hastily cast in explanation of the ruin of the rancheros, even as these too credulously attribute the result to the advent of the new government. There are many cases where wealthy and intelligent speculators have succeeded the original possessor, without being more able than he was to turn their purchases to any account; and I am credibly informed that a like result attended a similar state of things in Texas.

The truth seems to be that a large tract of land, at a distance from a populous centre, is a most unmanageable property, requiring for its administration, and even for its sale in small parcels, an industry and a sagacity that are given to few.

It is fortunate that large landed estates should so often prove ruinous to their owners, for they are antagonistic to the system under which we live, and fatal to the progress of the State.

A Latin writer praises the magnanimity of Pompey for refusing, on principle, to purchase any land bounding his own; he should rather have praised his foresight and his prudence.

The question involved is by no means new. Many learned inquirers have attributed the fall of the Roman Empire to the institution of slavery; they should have gone one step further and urged as a chief cause the distribution of land into considerable tracts, which encouraged slavery and drove the freemen into the large towns to become the dependants of the privileged classes. The ruin of Italy, says Pliny, came from the "Latifundia," or large estates.

The original Roman Constitution limited the quantity of



land that any man could hold. Perhaps it went too far, if two *jugera* constituted that limit; but as that enterprising nation pursued its conquests and more and more land became the subject of distribution, the Licinian limitation of three hundred and fifty acres to the individual was soon overpassed. Appian says that the nobles and rich men, partly by getting possession of the public lands, partly by buying out the shares of indigent owners, had made themselves proprietors of *all* the lands in Italy, and had thus, by degrees, accomplished the removal of the common people from their possessions.

In the provinces the evil was still greater. Many a patrician was named in the proscription lists of Sylla or the triumvirs, chiefly on account of their vast landed possessions, and when we read that Nero executed six noblemen who owned, among them, one-half of Africa, we are scarcely at a loss for the motive of their condemnation.

The cotemporaries were not blind to the growing evil. Attempt upon attempt was made to check it; but the privileged classes defeated or eluded every effort in that direction.

Livy tells us that no agrarian law was proposed within his remembrance without causing great disturbance.

The Gracchi lost their lives because Tiberius Gracchus attempted to revive the Licinian law. The fame of that tribune so successfully assailed by the partisans of the aristocracy has lately been vindicated by modern criticism. Niebuhr ably discloses the true nature of the Roman agrarian bills. They seem to have been, from Licinius to Rollus, the well meant but injudicious efforts of patriots to prevent large quantities of land from centering in few persons, to the impoverishment and demoralization of the community.

But as soon as the effeminate population of the world's metropolis lost all self-reliance, and, long fed by the tribute of the provinces, only clamored for bread and circus shows, the memory of the patriot was easily blackened as that of a pernicious agitator.

In France the enormous landed wealth of the nobility and clergy explains the Great Revolution better than does any political grievance. Elsewhere the Reformation not only maintained, but justified itself, by abbey lands. The noxious tendency of the doctrines taught by the Jesuits would hardly have appeared so manifest but for their extensive estates. When the decree for their expulsion reached Peru, Lima consoled itself with the reflection that one-fourth of all the houses and lots would pass from clerical to laical hands. The statutes of mortmain in England, and similar enactments, everywhere show how jealous the legislator has been, from Justinian to later times, lest corporations in their nature, should monopolize large quantities of land.

In Spain, the learned and eloquent Jovellanos raised his



voice, long disregarded, against the national evil of landed monopolies. With unanswerable logic and withering sarcasm, he assails the conservative notions concerning vested but fatal rights to landed property in large tracts, and especially that most pernicious of all ownerships, the ownership by *pueblos* of considerable domains.

The crowns of Europe have long since recovered from the hallucination that large royal demesnes constitute any true available wealth. They prefer to see those demesnes distributed into private hands, and trust, for their revenues, to the inexhaustible resource of taxation. And on this point the sovereign and the people are of one mind. For the latter have experienced that, under certain administrations of exceptional vigor, extensive crown lands became an instrument of tyranny. The *fürstengüter* or crown lands of the Saxon monarchs, were sufficient to defray the expense of government. Diminished by Norman donations, they were increased by church spoils. Their profuse distribution by William III., though censured by subsequent legislation, furnished, of itself, an important constitutional guarantee to the people of England. And yet, in our age, and in our very midst, there are those who, mindless of all the teachings of political economy, would consider it an object that a city should assert, by way of procuring a revenue, a claim derived from Gothic customs, and supported by Zamorana documents and other muniments of equal import and significance, over a whole broad peninsula like this upon which we stand.

It is not only in the instincts of the masses that we trace the general conviction of the evil results of *Lotifundia*. The jealousy of the legislator has almost everywhere guarded against their perpetuation. The civil law compelled the distribution of the estates of decedents. It reduced the power of bequest and devise to the narrowest limits. All the heirs of like degree shared alike, with certain scrupulously noted exceptions. These provisions were not solely intended to protect the natural rights of children to a father's property, but to avoid the accumulation of real estate, or rather to prevent its possessor from becoming a corporation sole, achieving thus a legal immortality by the agency of entail.

I am confident that a contrary policy has never been adopted except where a conquering tribe, after subjugating a nation, instinctively resorted to the system of entail for the purpose of self-protection. In that view the feudal code is not so much the invention of the northern invaders of the Roman Empire as the natural result of their position, and the Talookdar of Hindostan forcibly reminds us of the Baron of Western Europe, the Aztec chieftain of the Norman noble, and the followers of Ruric of those of William the Conqueror.

The *droits d' ainesse* of the French sank in the great storm

which swept away so many abuses ; the *Mayorazgos* of Spain have been abolished by gradual enactments. Even in Great Britain, that stronghold of modern aristocracy, it has been found necessary to demolish some of the more ruinous parts of the Gothic structure of entail. And Russia, that nation "with the European face and Asiatic heart," is now putting the vast possessions of her nobility upon their trial.

In almost all the States—United or disunited—of our great Republic, some statute has been adopted limiting the power of entail to a given number of lives in being at the time. Indeed I know but one exception, and this occurs in our own State. This singular omission may perhaps be attributed to oversight, but certainly not to any sinister premeditation. Many enactments seem pointed against land monopolies. The territorial acquisitions of corporations are limited to a specific quantity. No individual can locate more than three hundred and twenty acres of school lands ; and the mere fact of possession is here raised, by statute and adjudication, to a degree of dignity unsurpassed elsewhere.

The Republic of Mexico, after vainly endeavoring to make the public lands a basis of public credit, stumbled upon the more effectual expedient of giving them away. Her regulations to that effect seem to have been enlightened as well as liberal, and their partial failure was attributable to peculiar causes. One of these was perhaps the erroneous construction given to the limiting clause of one, four and six leagues, respectively, of different classes of land. The Governors summed up these figures and considered the total, eleven leagues, as the only limit to the granting power, a construction, strangely enough, adopted by our own Courts.

The experience of the United States has not been altogether dissimilar. My hearers are doubtless familiar with the details of our gradual change of policy, from the original idea of deriving a considerable national revenue from the domain, to the more advanced and liberal system of giving away the land to the actual occupant. Nor are the people indebted for these latter measures to the magnanimity of statesmen or their own foresight. It took more than half a century's experience to demonstrate the expediency of the present scheme.

I am informed that the transactions in land of the Government for the year commencing July 1st, 1850, and ending June 30th, 1851, gave a result more favorable than the average, with the exception of the year 1836, when there raged an epidemic of land speculation. Let us judge from that result of the availability of the public lands as a source of revenue.

During that year 1,846,847 49-100 acres of land were sold for a sum exceeding the minimum Government price by more than \$60,000, viz: \$2,370,947 45. Of that amount there failed to reach the Treasury for various causes the sum of \$18,642 15;



the incidental expenses to be deducted were \$153,341 17—total to be deducted, \$171,983 32 ; leaving a net income of \$2,198,964 13. But from that net total there are still to be deducted a sum equal to the general appropriation for the Surveyor General's Department for the ensuing year, or \$611,975 47 ; and a further sum of \$155,305—making together \$767,280 47 ; leaving a final balance of \$1,431,683 66 as the sum fairly applicable to the general wants of Government from its sales of land for that year. And I suspect that if several items properly chargeable to this account were considered, such as payments to extinguish foreign or Indian titles, explorations by the topographic corps, hydrographic surveys, and the segregation of 2,454,000 acres of bounty lands given away during that year, it might be found that the Government ran in debt to support its land system.

That the pecuniary result attending the system of granting homestead farms as a free gift will be directly more favorable I do not pretend to say. But at all events we have foregone (I trust forever) the unstatesmanlike pretension of raising a revenue from the public domain. And when we consider that, under the hampering influence of the old system, thirteen new States, commencing with Ohio and ending with California, were carved out of 506,000,000 of our public acres, we may confidently look to a not very remote day for a solution of the problem, in a lack-land Government and a wilderness teeming with tax-payers.

From this hasty review of facts I only claim, for the present, to have established that there exists a universal jealousy of the accumulation of landed property, whether in the hands of individuals or of governments.

To set forth the *rationale* of that feeling would exceed my limits, and, most probably also, my capacity. But I would argue from its prevalence that it must proceed from some cause equally general. So many nations, circumstanced so differently and with such ample opportunities for comparison, can hardly be supposed to have reached, through common ineptitude, a common political blunder.

There is no such feeling against the accumulation of money or other chattels. Whence this difference, unless that there is no limitation to the multiplication of those commodities, whilst land is essentially finite in point of extent. There is no increasing its quantity. And as to its products, their multiplication depends so entirely on the intelligent labor of man that the commonwealth is directly concerned—not that each man should have a farm, a trite absurdity—but that many separate farms should have separate masters. In other words, it would seem that when you have ascertained that quantity of land which any one man can thoroughly cultivate, you may rest assured that frequent instances of excess beyond that standard



point are fatal to the community, and, ultimately, to the individual properties.

The latter proposition would seem as obvious as the first but for the eternal struggle of the more fortunate classes to stamp the character of durability upon their wealth by large investments in land, and but for their occasional success, arising solely from the small relative number of such investments.

It is not contended for here that a rancho, surrounded by small farms, or a one hundred vara lot in a populous city do not constitute positive available wealth, but that a country distributed into ranchos will remain a poor country, even as a city of many one hundred vara lots will remain a "City of Magnificent Distances."

To the apparent exceptions that might be mentioned to this rule, it may be sufficient to answer that the reckoning day will yet come, and that many a political sky, now fair, may soon re-echo the thunder of 1789.

The progress of Russia and Great Britain, as conspicuous as the rent-rolls of their nobility, might be urged with some force against our view, but for the cry of absenteeism, pauperism and steward-administration which reaches us alike from both countries. In England the inclination and facilities for emigration have constituted a safety-valve against explosion. The enormous wealth and rural tastes of her gentlemen have permitted and suggested improvements on a scale impossible elsewhere, whilst her vast manufacturing and commercial centres furnish a refuge for a distressed tenantry, and a market for the yield of patrician herds and flocks as well as for the forage and timber of princely parks and artificial forests. If one single British family has been engaged since the beginning of the present century in planting yearly 300,000 forest trees, we hardly know which to admire most, the sagacity that devised that investment, or the unlimited resources that ensured its success; and we may still safely repeat the maxim of Adam Smith, that the source of wealth is, not land but labor.

In Russia the country gentleman appears to be almost unknown. Basking in the imperial sunshine, employed in the army, the civil administration, or some distant diplomatic service, the Russian noble leaves the care of his estates to an intendant, often a foreigner. His serfs owe him their lands, their goods, their houses, their children, and one half their time for manorial service. In return they are allowed each a cottage, a garden, and a plot of land to support themselves and their families. *Adscripti glebæ* for nearly three centuries, they seem to be contented with their lot, and to look with but little enthusiasm at the prospect of enfranchisement which the autocrat holds forth before them. Indeed, the transition from the notion that the *man* belongs to the *land*, to the converse idea that the *land* belongs to the *man*, is so slight, that the serfs are

said to view the small price exacted for the freehold of their tenements, and in exchange for their freedom, as a piece of arbitrary oppression. And if we reflect that one single edict reduced the whole race, in 1596, to their present condition, and that their landlords can generally show no better title than long possession to lands originally granted to the ancestor for life only; and if, on the other hand, we bear in mind that, in theory, the serf belongs, not to the master, but to the master's land, the objection does not seem ill taken.

At all events, whether or not these and similar examples militate against aught I have said heretofore, it will readily be conceded that the spirit which furnishes a tenantry to enable a landlord to cultivate a whole province by deputy, is foreign to our manners and inconsistent with our institutions.

Going one step beyond tenantry, villainage, the glebe and serfdom in all its forms, positive slavery would seem to furnish a solution to the difficulty. Any inquiry into its morality would be here in questionable taste. The most learned and ingenious of all the ancient philosophers, when called upon to justify the institution in his own day, said: "to the Greeks belongs dominion over the barbarians, because the former have the understanding to rule, the latter the body only to obey." This vindication that Aristotle applied to the ownership, by an Athenian, of a captive from the banks of the Seine, the Tagus, the Elbe, or, perhaps, the Thames, will tell with double force against a race apparently of a distinct creation, certainly of inferior average mental capacity, as viewed to-day.

Our business is with material results, and we may safely assert, census in hand, not only from ancient experience, but from our own, that even, with the powerful auxiliary of slavery, States whose territory is vested in comparatively few hands, cannot compete in general progress with those which have adopted the contrary system. It is true that the adjunct in question, disposes of several of the objections raised against the policy of *Latifundia*. Not only is the owner's laboring power multiplied by the number of his hands, but the enormous advantage is gained of the discipline of labor under one intelligent head. The result ought to be a more thorough cultivation of the soil, a more complete development of all the capacities of Nature. But, strange to say, it seems that this favorable material result only occurs in certain exceptional localities, where the presence of some one great and rare staple in universal demand gives an extraordinary value to the product of the land. I state, on reliable authority, that in the southwest part of Kentucky, where large estates are devoted to miscellaneous cultivation, it was, quite lately, almost the general rule, that the peculiar wealth in question was a burden to the owner. A gentleman, now in this city, informs me, that several years ago it was his duty, as Master Commissioner, to



inquire into the estates of decedents in that section. Every one of the large planters whose affairs it became his duty to examine into, had died a bankrupt.

But even in these favored localities, where large plantations are possible, the very success of such undertakings brings in its train certain attendant evils which the statesman cannot well overlook. Enterprise becomes confined almost to a single object; the energy of the State engrossed in fostering one single overshadowing interest; and it soon becomes apparent that the welfare of the dominant class (as they construe it,) demands imperatively a special legislation inconsistent with such national institutions as ours; that the democratic and aristocratic elements cannot abide together without strife, and that either must perish, or a severance be accomplished.

My hearers will remember that the five southerly counties of this State, after repeated yearly petitioning, obtained from the Legislature, in 1859, an act, afterwards repealed, which provided for their secession from California and their organization under a Territorial Government, whenever Congress should see fit to accept the trust. This measure, much condemned at the time, was little understood. In the race with the thrifty North, the Southern rancheros found themselves speedily outstripped; they foresaw the ruin that since has overtaken them. They felt instinctively that their vast possessions were antagonistic to the general spirit that prevailed in the rest of the State. They vaguely realized that they were being ruined by their very wealth, yet they clung to that wealth with the tenacity of despair. Reasoning logically enough from their own mistaken premises, they successfully resisted that invasion of settlers whose labors have converted the ranchos of the North into prosperous farms, and they promoted the measure in question, with the not unreasonable hope that a separation from the section where the contrary policy prevailed, might delay, perhaps avoid altogether, the coming catastrophe.

The relief which they deemed they needed was demanded, not with arms in their hands, but peacefully, through the channels of legislation. It was generously granted under a clear conviction of its absolute necessity.

Whether this incident sheds any light on the deplorable convulsion that now threatens the national life, and whether it points out how, but for fiery counsels and intemperate haste, the mortal struggle might have been averted, I leave my hearers to judge. But this remarkable event in the history of California certainly illustrates at once the weakness and the power, the helplessness and all absorbing ambition of a landed aristocracy placed fairly in contact with the hostile element.

I trust that the drift of these remarks will not be misunderstood. Their sole purpose has been to call attention to some facts in our State's history which illustrate certain well known



laws of political economy. It is no part of my aim to invoke the aid of legislation. I should as soon propose a sumptuary as an agrarian law. Neither have I designed, in pointing out the legitimate results of the system of Latifundia, to signal any serious social danger in our path. The day of Aristocracy—a brilliant day—has waned. Its past has been more useful, more noble, more effectual in the affairs of this world than History has yet been willing to allow. But that part has been played to the very end, and the curtain has fallen forever upon a faded pageant. It belongs not to this age. Wherever it still affects a visible existence, the force of habit or the dread of revolution accounts for the phenomenon. Its life is a galvanic life, fitful and artificial; or rather, what we now behold of it, is only a phantom of its former being which stalks in the dim twilight, awaiting but to be questioned to disappear forever.

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MUSIC—"Star Spangled Banner"—By the Band.

## THE BANQUET.

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At the entertainment, many good things were said, as well as eaten and drank. There were regular toasts proposed and responded to. The first sentiment, offered by President O. P. SUTTON, was the grand motto of Webster, which was received with rapturous applause—"Liberty and Union, now and forever—one and inseparable!"

Rev. T. STARR KING was called for loudly and persistently. At last Mr. Sutton, the President, introduced him to the assembly, and he was very heartily welcomed. He commenced thus:

I did not think, gentlemen, that I had any right to respond to your flattering call—although anybody, with any electricity in his heart, ought to be able to speak at once to that stirring toast—until I was formally introduced by the President. To acknowledge your clamor alone would seem like "driving through the Constitution," and *that* I am entirely opposed to except it be necessary to save the nation. I once said that I was in favor of soldiers voting, to balance the votes of half-traitors at home, and to prevent a military usurpation—even if the Constitution is opposed to it. But we must all stand by the Constitution till the question is between the paper charter and the life of the Republic. In any crisis like that, I am for the nation at all hazards—I am for your noble toast: "Liberty and Union, now and forever—one and inseparable!" and I stand there, even if the papers of the State on that question should go against the nation, and for the document.

Mr. King then went on to say that, being called on so unexpectedly, he wished he could escape by proving an *alibi*, in the legal sense. In the literal sense, he was by and in an alley, as the company all saw. If there was anything in a secular line in which he was more than tolerably successful, it was bowling. The President of the United States was evidently good at it; for in the immense alley of the Republic he had rolled his great New Year's ball at the rebellion, and we should see the pins go down in the Gulf States. [Great applause.] The speaker said that this last remark was plainly a *ten-strike* in the assembly.

Mr. King then referred to the treat which had been offered to the audience up stairs. It was pleasant to listen to the eloquent words of the head of the Pioneer Association. It was refreshing to listen to the report of the Building Committee, and to learn that the Association, after thirteen years' experience in California, was *solvent*. It was a great treat to

follow the main address, so crammed with facts, so scholarly in its tone, so rich in learning, so clear in its deductions, and so admirably clothed in English. Such a feast is richer even than this one. The author had shown the impossibility of two systems of labor so antagonistic as those of the South and North remaining peaceably allied. But we must not think of their independence of each other. We must colonize the nobler system into the more barbarous one, and redeem and regenerate the excellent land of the South, keeping it American, under the lead of such genius as the pioneer and hero of Murfreesboro.

The speaker then went on, in a strain of merriment, to express his belief that all the history reported to-day, up stairs, and all the associations with the Pioneer Society, were complete humbug. He did not believe the Pioneers were the founders of California energy and wealth. To imagine that all these stories about the origin of this State in '49, were true, was to believe in something far more incredible than the tales of the Arabian Nights. Do these members look like the Pilgrim Fathers of the Western Continent? Range them along before any judges, East or in Europe, and would their claim to be the Puritans of the far West be allowed for a moment? Are they the patriarchs of a State that counts four hundred thousand population and enormous wealth? How absurd! Think of the genuine Pilgrims and Pioneers holding an anniversary in Plymouth, fourteen years after their landing in 1620! What could they show? Why, they hadn't then paid up the passage money with which they got away from Holland. No! All these stories about this city being only fourteen years old are fables. The Pioneers have told them so often that they begin to believe them. They were invented simply to manufacture an aristocracy here, and get up occasion to crow over those of us who came only two or three years ago. They have, however, put these myths to good account. They have built up the beautiful stones of this building out of them, and have set them on land of which the price was nobly Lick-quidated. Think of the Pilgrim Fathers called to a meeting in Massachusetts when that State numbered four hundred thousand souls! They would have gone as *dead-heads*.

But the speaker hoped that the delusion would be kept up, that the community would acquiesce in the fable, as if it were sober and credible history, that the Pioneers would go on in prosperity, and that fourteen years hence they would have a meeting in a State numbering more than a million, supporting and honoring the American flag with nearly a hundred stars on it, and amid the joy of the South itself, that it had been saved from insanity and kept, with a better system of labor, in a nation whose motto should continue to be "Liberty and Union, now and forever—one and inseparable!"



The next toast given, was "The Building Committee—to whose taste, energy and perseverance, the Society stands indebted for its elegant and comfortable Home;" which was responded to briefly, but forcibly, by the Chairman of the Committee, W. B. FARWELL, Esq.

The toast to the Montgomery Guard was replied to by ex-President ROACH. He said :

I am proud to see the Montgomery Guard escorting the Pioneers. For many reasons it is eminently proper. They bear a name hallowed by the memories of the Revolution, and it was that of one of Ireland's noblest sons. They escort us on a day glorious in the annals of modern history, the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, where another of Ireland's sons, the gallant Jackson, won imperishable renown for American arms. While the past was bright for the influence of Irishmen in American affairs, he hoped that the future would be more so, and that by the Providence of God, it might be recorded in future history that Erin's sons had been highly instrumental in restoring this glorious Union. Again, the propriety of the escort is contrastive and expressive. Its members are nearly all from that Green Isle so sung of poets as the "Land of the West," and upon these shores, the western region of a mighty continent, the Montgomeries and the Pioneers may well extend the hand of fellowship, for among the latter, filling its highest offices, are those whose cradles were rocked in the Sainted Isle.

I am proud to see the splendid appearance of the Guard. I am proud to see the green flag—the emblem of hope—for I cherish still the belief that for Erin and Columbia the sun behind the clouds is shining.

Mr. ROACH then proposed the health of General JOHN A. SUTTER, the Veteran PIONEER—which was drank with all the honors. The Band playing "*Hail to the Chief.*"

A toast to "JAMES LICK," was thus responded to by Mr. E. H. WASHBURN :

*Gentlemen*—As you have been informed, we have failed in our programme of regular toasts, on account of the absence of the Chairman of the Committee appointed to arrange them, and also to designate the respondents. Consequently, the toasts given and the responses have been altogether of a voluntary and extempore character. You have called upon me to respond to the toast in honor of James Lick, Esq. I am not aware of any peculiar fitness in the selection, but I cheerfully consent to do honor to the name of our munificent patron. To him we are chiefly indebted for the success of the enterprise the completion of which we have met to celebrate; and ever

will his name and memory be gratefully cherished, as a man and as an early pioneer, by each member of this Association. Gentlemen, I shall never aspire to greatly distinguish myself by performances upon an altar, but I consider myself particularly unfortunate in being called upon to follow gentlemen who have made such magnificent ten-strikes as have those who preceded me, particularly that *King* of rollers, whose well-rounded sentences always knock the pins from under false theories, with unerring skill; though I am happy to say, that he has not on this occasion succeeded in knocking the pins from under the foundations of our institution—he affects to believe our history a myth, invented to found a baseless aristocracy. Gentlemen, I will tell you what the trouble is, *he* doesn't believe in the existence of an aristocracy independent of a *King*—"that's what's the matter."

Gentlemen, though I cannot give you a speech worthy of the subject, yet I can most heartily join you in doing honor to the name of our associate and benefactor. May the grateful memory of JAMES LICK be cherished by the members of this Association while a stone of this edifice exists, or our organization endures.

President SUTTON gave "Our Invited Guests," which called up N. L. DREW, Esq., of Sacramento, President of the Pioneer Association of that city—who in a pertinent and extremely happy manner replied.

Vice-President WINANS gave that time-honored toast, "The Ladies," which having been drank in a manner showing the appreciation of the subject by the Pioneers, was responded to (in answer to numerous calls,) by Mr. WM. HENRY TIFFANY—who, it is sufficient to say, done the subject that full and ample justice expected from him.

Mr. WM. L. DUNCAN then read a letter from Governor LELAND STANFORD, regretting his inability to attend the festivities of the Society, on account of the meeting of the Corporators of the Pacific Railroad; but declaring that his heart was with them in their great work of opening a home for themselves and their successors, and ending by proposing the following toast:

"The California Pioneers and the Pacific Railroad—may the fraternal ties that unite the former, be as strong and firm, and as enduring as the bond of unity between the Atlantic and the Pacific States which will be assured by the completion of the latter." Drank with acclamation.

"The President of the United States"—was given, and, in response to repeated calls, was replied to by Jos. W. WINANS, Esq., who, in his best vein and happiest manner, delivered an



eloquent eulogy upon the Chief Magistrate, which want of space alone compels us to omit.

Toasts were also responded to, and speeches made by Gen. WINN, of Sacramento, Captain HYDE, and numerous others; and while wit and champagne flowed freely, good fellowship and fraternal feeling reigned supreme until the waning daylight warned them to separate.

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### THE "INAUGURAL LEVEE."

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The Terpsichorean entertainment, in the evening, was more fully attended than any party ever given before in this city. Designed, at first, by the Pioneers as a reception, merely, it, by the time appointed, swelled into the proportions of a magnificent ball; where were displayed by the fair ones of our city, the most elegant toilettes ever before seen, and, also the most amiable indifference to the awful crushing they received. The entire building was thrown open—the supper room being in the basement; the first and second stories devoted to dancing and the Operatic Concert, and the third to dressing and sitting rooms. The music furnished was superb; the supper unexceptionable—but the new building was hardly large enough to accommodate the Society and their guests, over 1,800 being present. Waltzing, until long after midnight, was out of the question. Dancing was pursued under difficulties, and promenading came to a stand still. But ears were open, and all listened to the exquisite music of the Concert. The favorite singer, Madame BIANCHI, was in fine voice and sang with much expression and feeling; during the entertainment she was presented by the Pioneers with an elegant testimonial of their esteem.

The entire details of both the morning and evening festivities were scrupulously attended to, and reflect much credit on the Committee of Arrangements.



